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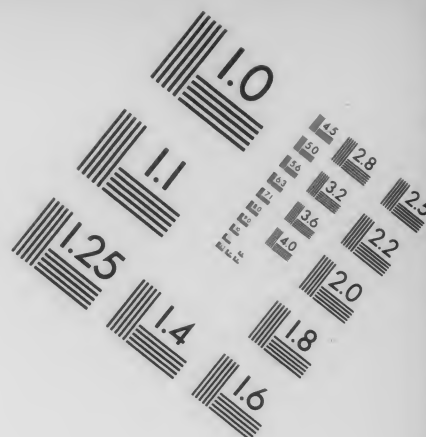
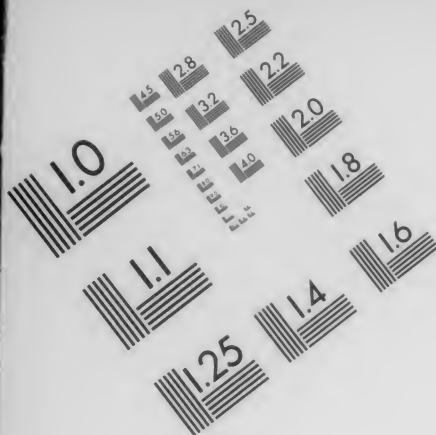


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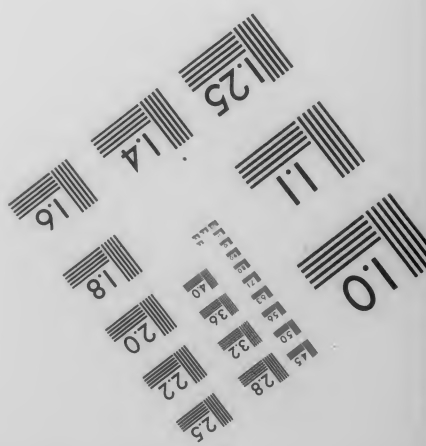
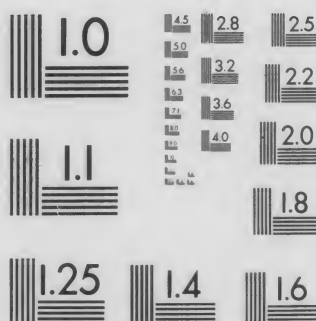
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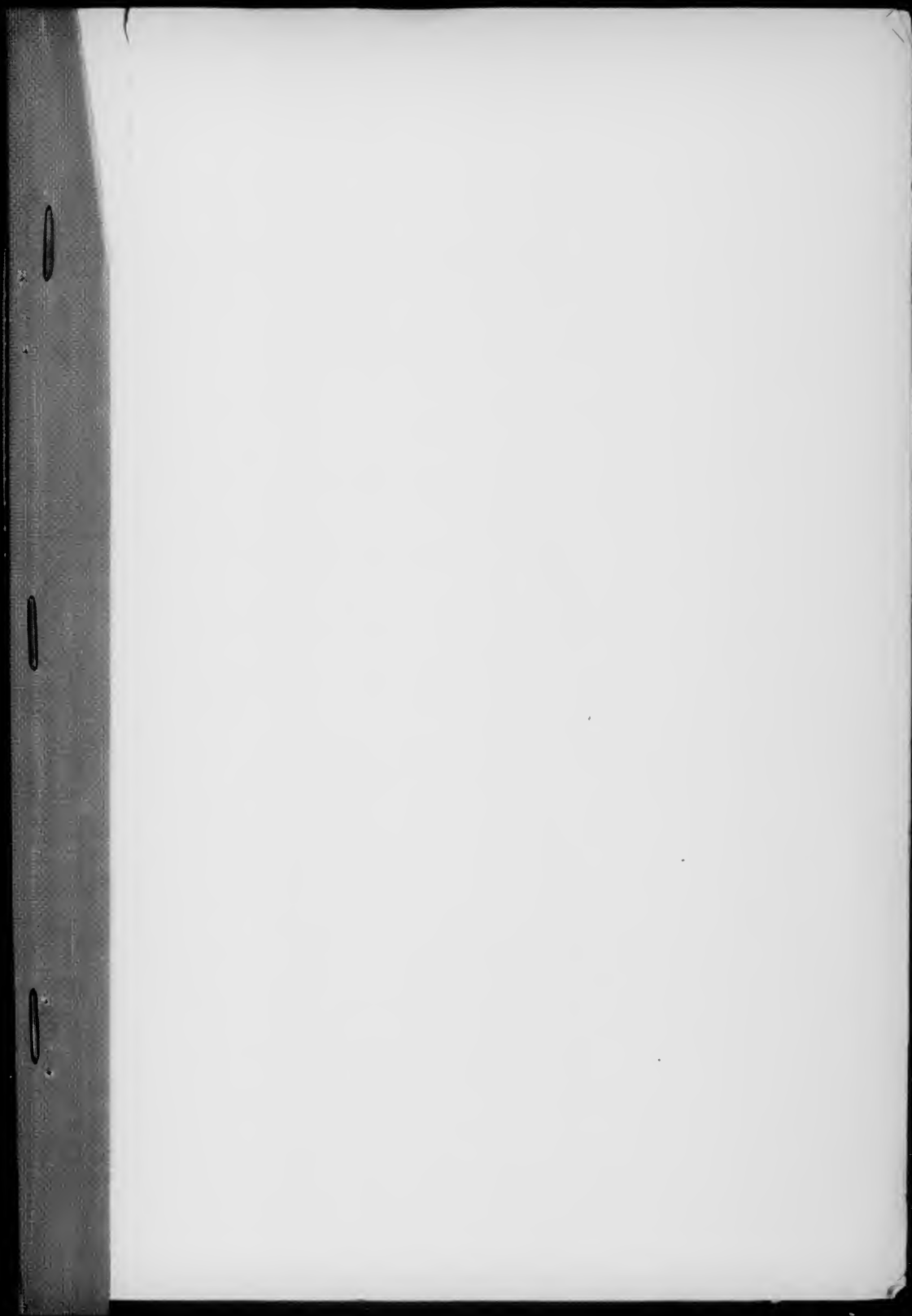
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THE INQUISITION

AN ESSAY

Extracted from Devivier's Christian Apologetics

Edited by REV. JOSEPH C. SASIA, S. J.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY
1904

Nihil obstat.

*P. W. RIORDAN,
Archbishop of San Francisco, Cal.*

November 25, 1904.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

One of the chief functions of the Catholic press in our days is to meet and refute misrepresentations of things Catholic. As experience teaches, nearly all the prejudices against Rome, its religion and institutions arise from misunderstanding them; sometimes through ignorance, and sometimes through motives as dishonorable as they are groundless. If Catholicity, its history, its teachings and its methods were what they are frequently asserted to be by the enemies of the Church, our separated Christian brethren would be entirely justified in their hostility. It would then be not only their right, but also their duty to do everything in their power to counteract the baneful influence of such an institution. But, as it has been shown hundreds of times, it is not the religion, the doctrines, discipline and institutions of the Catholic Church, that our adversaries persist in denouncing and reprobating, but their own misconception of them founded upon ignorance, bigotry and deep-seated prejudice. Protestant preachers are usually the greatest sinners in this respect, and who, last of all, should dare palliate their wrong under the extenuating plea of ignorance. That some people should deem it fitting for Catholics to sit silent under unwarranted attacks upon their religion rather than put up a proper defense, is something beyond our comprehension. We much prefer the line of conduct pointed out by the late Pontiff, Leo XIII, who earnestly exhorts both the clergy and the cultured members of the laity to employ, in the defense of Catholic truth, the very weapon that our enemies are using in the spread of error with a zeal worthy of a better cause, viz., the power of the press, whose pages may be made to reach millions of readers desirous to know the truth. It is precisely for this reason that we have decided to republish, with several additions, our article on the Inquisition, which is found in Vol. II, page

434359

584, of our edition of Devivier's "Christian Apologetics," printed in San Jose, Cal., July, 1903. The immediate reason or occasion that determined us to reproduce that special article, the Inquisition, is briefly this. We received from the editors of the "Outlook," a weekly New York magazine, a circular soliciting our subscription to their recent publication, in twenty-five volumes, of the "Historians' History of the World," and some friends kindly lent us, for examination, a specimen volume, which the same editors had sent to them along with a similar circular. Interested as we are in historical studies, we hastened to peruse the contents of the specimen volume (Vol. X), and cherished the hope that this new work might be a valuable acquisition to our library. But we were sadly disappointed. Instead of finding in that compilation a fair, impartial, truthful exposition of historical facts, we met with statements and appreciations as malignant and perverse as they are unfounded and untrue. This charge is fully justified by what we read in a long appendix to the tenth volume on the Inquisition (pages 562-598). To say nothing of the objectionable engraving, an historical falsehood of the blackest type, the quotation from Limborch, heading that chapter, bristles with the most atrocious calumnies, and is a fit preliminary to the mendacious treatment that follows. One quotation, out of many that might be adduced, will suffice. On page 572 they write as follows: "Better, said the Inquisitorial Judges, that a hundred innocent persons should be cut off and go to paradise, than let one heretic escape." An entirely opposite principle governed the proceedings of the Inquisition, and it was enunciated by the Roman Pontiffs in the following terms diametrically contrary to the maxim expressed above. "It is better that crime should occasionally go unpunished than that even one innocent man should be chastized as guilty." In the words of the Roman poet, "Ex uno disce omnes." From this specimen of wilfull misrepresentation the reader may easily judge of the character of the whole work.

That the editors are in a great measure influenced by anti-Catholic prejudice may be easily inferred from the whole tenor of that chapter on the Inquisition, which is in fact as virulent a libel upon the Church of Rome as we have ever chanced to read. It is put as an appendix that should bear the title, "In cauda venenum" (there is poison in the tail end).

We might multiply quotations and criticisms on this subject indefinitely, but the sample given will amply suffice to prove our contention, namely, that the treatment of the subject of the Inquisition in Vol. X of the "Historians' History," compiled and published under the auspices of the editors of the "Outlook," furnishes an additional fresh proof of the saying of the distinguished statesman and writer, Count Joseph De Maistre, that "English history during the last three hundred years has been a persistent conspiracy against Catholic truth." Readers anxious to learn the truth on this much debated and often misrepresented subject of the Inquisition, and willing to hear the other side of the question—*audire alteram partem*—will find it clearly and honestly stated in the following pages published by the courtesy of the Catholic Truth Society of this city.

In keeping with the critical spirit of our age we made it a point to cite carefully and exactly all our authorities, so as to facilitate the researches of the scholar who might feel inclined to verify our quotations.

REV. JOSEPH C. SASIA, S. J.

St. Ignatius College, San Francisco, Cal.,
November, 1904.

THE INQUISITION

1. The enemies of the Catholic Church are in the habit of casting up against her the word Inquisition as if it were a condemnation without appeal.

All fair-minded men will agree that this subject must be approached with the eye of calm reason, and not of passionate prejudice; and that history, not party spirit, must sit in judgment upon it. It is painful for all lovers of honor and truth to witness the floods of calumnies, misrepresentations, exaggerations and falsehoods pervading in great measure the literature of the Inquisition; but it is still more painful to see held accountable for all real and imaginary evils of that tribunal, the very personages who constantly fought against its abuses, the Popes of Rome.

It is well to remark at the outset that, except in the case of a few people, of slight education at the best, who permit themselves to be taken unawares and led away, the hatred of the Inquisition is confounded with hatred of the Church.

We know from their literary works, novels, plays, journals, etc., the tactics of the enemies of that institution. Their aim is to strike at the imagination, and excite the feelings by a moving picture or by a skilful and dramatic arrangement of incidents. These writers are careful not to inform their readers that the use of the torture and other severe penalties, resorted to at the time of the Inquisition, entirely opposed as those means are to modern customs, was in full conformity with the penal code of past centuries, and habitually used by all the tribunals of those times in all countries. In the eyes of these writers, the moment blood is shed or fire lit, the cause is judged and the tribunal is held to be in the wrong. They do not reason, they declaim; they do not try to convince their readers, but only seek to arouse their indignation. It is plain that honest men do not act in this way.

It is not thus that history should be written. It should have no other aim than that of telling the truth. "Its first law," says Leo XIII in the "Brief on Historical Studies" (August 18, 1893), "is to assert nothing false and to have no fear of telling the truth." The Church also only requires the truth, and we, her defenders, do not intend to use any other weapon than that in her service. Let us, therefore, reason this matter out, and tell the whole truth concerning the Inquisition, as much at least as it is possible to do within the narrow limits to which we are obliged to confine ourselves.

I.—ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL INQUISITION.

2. Above all, it is necessary to distinguish carefully the Ecclesiastical Inquisition from the Spanish Inquisition.

(1) Inquisition in general means the searching for heretics, with the view of repressing their proselytism or of converting them. In this sense the Inquisition dates from the very beginning of the Church; it was always the strict duty of the Popes and Bishops to fight heresy, to prevent its spread, either by means of gentleness and persuasion, or, when these failed, by punishment.

(2) However, by Inquisition is generally understood, a court of justice, called the Holy Office, ecclesiastical and also civil, established to enquire into the crime of heresy and to punish the guilty. This special tribunal only dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Pope Innocent III founded it to repress the heresy of the Albigenses and the Waldenses. Reviving the heresy of the Manicheans, these sectaries spread, with their errors, the spirit of revolt, and, with weapons in their hands, they threatened to destroy both the Church and the State. Every effort was made to bring them back to their duty by instruction and persuasion, but in vain. Then the two powers thus menaced united

their forces against the common enemy; to the ecclesiastical power fell the duty of ascertaining the crime, to the other that of inflicting the penalty.

The principal aim of the Inquisition was the preservation of the faith by the detection and condemnation of heresy. But here we must bear in mind one important distinction as to the manner in which that tribunal was to deal with it. If there was question of heresy, that contained no principle at variance with morals, and was moreover professed without tumult or violence to the established rights of civil society, in other words, if the heretical doctrine was secret and interior, the records of the world can be challenged to produce a single instance of intolerance on the part of the Catholic Church. In such a case the Church, which does not judge of interior things—*Ecclesia non judicat de internis*—left men to their own responsibility before God, their omniscient Supreme Judge. But, on the other hand, whenever there was question of heresy, that did contain or, at least, implied principles at variance with good morals, and the established order of civil society, then, we freely admit, the Catholic Church was intolerant, for she, the guardian of faith, morality and public peace, could not betray the trust confided by her divine Founder to her keeping for the welfare of mankind. (See "Christian Apologetics," Vol. II, pages 557-576.)

The very nature of things called for the intervention of ecclesiastical judges, for they alone were competent to judge of matters of faith, and to discriminate between Catholic and heretical doctrines. Those who find fault with this plan as carried out in Catholic Spain are compelled by the logic of facts to admit one or other of the following erroneous propositions:

(1) That the State, whose citizens in an overwhelming majority, profess the same (Catholic) faith, should profess no religion whatever, and be consequently atheistic.

(2) That such State may not conscientiously profess the Catholic religion.

(3) That if it were to adopt Catholicism as the State religion, it could not conscientiously protect it.

(4) That, when it should happen to defend the adopted faith against its assailants, the settlement of religious matters in dispute could be entrusted to incompetent judges.

It is plain that this last proceeding would be in direct opposition to the judicial practice of all civilized nations, whose courts of justice are wont to base their judgment, in some special cases, on the testimony of professional experts in matters of science and art. As the old saying has it, *Credendum est in arte peritis*. (See Taparelli, "Saggio Teoretico," Vol. I, page 623; Roman edition, 1855.)

3. This Ecclesiastical Inquisition always had for its purpose to preserve the Catholic people from the poison of heresy, and the State from the revolts, which were its usual consequence. The duty of the Inquisitor was generally confided to legates or delegates, among whom were distinguished in the first rank the Sons of St. Dominic, but only from the year 1223, that is to say, twelve years after the death of their founder, which does not prevent the enemies of the Church from transforming this Saint into a Grand Inquisitor.

Instituted by the mother of all the Churches, successively introduced into nearly all parts of the Christian world, the Ecclesiastical Inquisition was undoubtedly the work of the Roman Pontiffs, who never regretted having established it.

4. Quite different was the Spanish Inquisition, founded by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1481, to preserve, with the Christian faith, the Spanish nation from the conspiracies of the Jews and Moors, who feigned to be Christians in order to carry out their wicked designs against the Church, as well as against the State. In this tribunal there existed two distinct jurisdictions, one of which depended upon the Church, the other upon the State. But in Spain the civil power had so great a preponderance that many historians, though far from favorable to Catholicism, consider the

Spanish Inquisition as more a political than a religious institution.

5. We admit that Sixtus IV did approve the first project of the Spanish Inquisition, and that he sanctioned its fundamental statute. It was from the Holy See that the Ecclesiastical Inquisitors received their jurisdiction and all their spiritual powers. The King, however, had obtained from the Pope the power to nominate them for the office.

In this connection it is well to remember who were the chief and first movers for its establishment. The people and the Cortes or Parliament, demanded it from the King as the only remedy to the desperate political evils of their unhappy country teeming with conspirators against the throne, as well as against the altar. And it was precisely in compliance with such urgent petitions that Ferdinand and Isabella earnestly solicited it from the Roman Pontiff. As a matter of fact the Inquisition has never been established in any country without the actual connivance and consent of its temporal rulers.

6. OBJECT OF THE DISCUSSION. All discussion concerning the Inquisition may be reduced to the two following questions, which are altogether distinct from each other:

7. FIRST QUESTION. Was the institution of this tribunal legitimate in principle; in other words, was it in accordance with right and justice?

8. SECOND QUESTION. Were the proceedings of the Inquisition, as we know them through reliable history, deserving of the condemnation with which they are stigmatized, and can they be made a subject of reproach against the Church? We must not forget that in all this discussion there is no question of infidels, pagans and Jews, over whom the Church has no jurisdiction, and whom the Church never pretended to constrain, but that the Inquisition refers solely to Christians, that is to say, to people whom regeneration by baptism had subjected to her laws. "The former," says

✓ St. Thomas, "must not be compelled to obedience to the Church; the others, on the contrary, should be coerced: 'Contra vero, alteri sunt cogendi.'"

II.—LAWFULNESS OF THE INQUISITION IN PRINCIPLE.

9. A. ON THE PART OF THE CHURCH. For a Catholic there can be no doubt on the subject. Popes and Councils, Saints and doctors, the Scripture and tradition, proclaim that the Church, as a perfect society, has the right, and it is her duty, to watch over the purity of the faith, and to inflict punishment, even corporal punishment, upon those of her children who forsake the truth and become a stumbling block to their brethren. This undeniable right, which flows from the very powers, which Jesus Christ confided to her, the Church has always exercised; she always regarded the crimes of heresy, apostasy and sacrilege deserving of punishment as much as attacks against the property, the honor and the life of man.

This doctrine and this conduct of the Church are perfectly reasonable and legitimate.

It is the right and the duty of every perfect society to efficaciously lead its members to the purpose of its institution, and to watch over its own preservation. The Church being a perfect society, established by Christ, and provided by her Divine Founder with everything necessary for her preservation and propagation, possesses therefore this right, and can consequently enact laws and punish those of her subjects who will not obey them. If they prove themselves in every way refractory and rebellious, devios et contumaces, according to the expression of Benedict XIV, it is the right and the duty of the Church, as a mother, tender, it is true, but free from weakness, to correct them, in order that punishment may bring them back to due submission and prevent others from being led away by evil example. She does as the father of a family, when by wise and effective measures,

he corrects his children and endeavors to preserve his hearth from everything that might disturb its peace and happiness. She does as governments do every day, when by a system of vigorous precautions and sanitary enactments, they prevent the introduction of cholera or other epidemics; or again, when they appoint a body of special agents to look after malefactors, conspirators, assassins, to deliver them over to the vengeance of the law, and to render impossible the execution of their evil designs.

What the rod of the father is to the family, what to civil society are sanitary cordons, medical commissions, the police and the courts, the Inquisition was for religious society, that is to say, a means of preservation for itself and for its members.

Christ divinely commissioned His Church to preach and preserve His religion unchanged among all nations to the end of time. For this purpose He conferred upon the Apostles the power of teaching and ruling, of making laws and judging and punishing transgressors. Similar powers are conferred by God, the author of civil society, upon temporal rulers for its preservation and the attainment of every temporal good. Shall we say that the Son of God failed to make such provision for the preservation of the religious society He founded and for the eternal welfare of souls! Hence, as Archbishop Mesmer remarks ("Christian Apologetics," page 476, note), "in the light of Catholic dogma it is always a crime in an adult Catholic to wander from the faith. The Church teaches (a) that faith is an imperative duty of man toward God, as 'without faith it is impossible to please God' (Heb. xi-6); (b) that this faith is a supernatural gift of God, which man, once he has received, can not lose except by his own free will; (c) that She herself is the divinely appointed and infallible teacher of revealed truth, which is the proper object of divine faith; (d) that there can not possibly be any reason whatever of denying His faith once professed; (e) that consequently to

wander from the Catholic faith is a most grievous sin against God and His holy Church." From this it follows evidently that the Catholic Church alone, proved, in its proper place, to be a divine institution, can consistently claim the right of punishing apostasy from the faith, and that no State can consistently put heresy on its criminal code, unless it professes the Catholic faith, and becomes thus responsible for its preservation as a means of peace and union of its Catholic subjects. Then, to institute a comparison, the intolerance of Catholics practically consists in this that they believe our Blessed Lord has made His revelation sufficiently clear for all men to recognize it and embrace it, if they will. Still, no Catholic is allowed to coerce or influence those who refuse to recognize it. While the intolerance of Protestants consists in this that they believe every one must be left to his private judgment in ascertaining the true religion. But, as history proves, they persecuted those who, making use of their freedom and private judgment, seek to become Catholics. This is a literal fulfilment of the Saviour's prediction when He said, "And a man's enemies shall be they of his own household" (Matth.x-36).

Here the reader may consult with profit "Christian Apologetics" (Vol. II, page 558); "The Intolerance of the Church."

The following remarks from Guggenberger's "General History of the Christian Era" (Vol. II, page 120) will clear up still more the question at issue.

✓ (a) The Church always recognized the distinction between the baptized and the unbaptized. The former becoming rebels by apostasy do not cease to be her subjects, and may be lawfully coerced and punished. The latter not being her subjects can not be forced to accept the faith, or punished for rejecting it.

(b) In the case of Christians guilty of heresy the Church is bound, first, to admonish and warn them in all charity and patience, to impose penalties calculated to change their

minds, and finally, all other means failing, to excommunicate them. ✓

(c) The Church always considered heresy in a Catholic State as an offense not only against faith, but also against civil society equivalent to high treason, as a felonious attack upon the highest good of the commonwealth, the unity of faith, and therefore punishable by the civil authority on its own account. For what is done against the divine religion is an injury done to all; and it is a far more grievous crime to offend the divine than the human Majesty. In the Middle Age, the golden era of Christianity, every person who publicly erred in doctrine and thus became an obstacle to salvation, both to himself and others, was regarded as an enemy to civil society, to be punished accordingly.

(d) While the Church declared it lawful for the State, in the above suppositions, to punish obstinate heretics as disturbers of both religious and political unity and peace, she never declared it necessary or always expedient to do so. ✓ The right of punishing or repressing heresy becomes a duty only when severe measures are deemed indispensable for the protection of the faithful, and the preservation of human society.

10. B. ON THE PART OF THE STATE. When it comes to judging of the legitimacy of an institution, we must go back to the times during which it was established. All historical students know that at the time of the Inquisition European society was profoundly Christian; people were as convinced of the truth of Catholic dogmas as in our day in modern society they are convinced of the truths of the principles of natural law; they thought with good reason that revolt against God was no less culpable than revolt against the King.

Rulers and people, moreover, considered the preservation of the Catholic religion, in their eyes the only true and divine religion, as a social good of far greater importance than all worldly possessions. The legislation of all the countries of

-false

Europe was founded upon the close alliance of Church and State. Consequently, every disobedience to the laws of religion became amenable to the civil law as soon as the transgressions became manifest by exterior acts.

In such a condition of things nothing could be more natural than the establishment of tribunals, whose purpose it was to ascertain by honest and legal means exterior violations of the religious law, to distinguish obstinate heretics from those who only yielded to temporary error, to punish the really guilty and proclaim the innocence of the others. These tribunals were as legitimate as in our day are the courts called upon to judge crimes against the State or against the person, the reputation or the fortune of its subjects. We say exterior violations, for it is clear that the interior secret of conscience is accessible to God alone; consequently human law can not make laws for interior acts, nor punish violations which are not outwardly produced. Hence the principle of canon law, "*Ecclesia non iudicat de internis.*"

It is because they were imbued with these truths that Theodosius the Great, Justinian, Charlemagne, Otho the Great, Louis XI, all the rulers and all civilized nations did not think that to punish heresy and apostasy was to do violence to conscience.

✓ 11. CONCLUSION. In a society constituted according to the principles, which we have just set forth and in presence of legislative measures enacted accordingly, no one can reasonably deny that the Church acted with wisdom, by establishing conjointly with the temporal power, to which it left the task of inflicting the merited punishment, a tribunal to ascertain with greater certainty and guarantee of justice the real culprits, and to take cognizance of offenses rightly considered as most detrimental both to social order and religious faith.

12. REMARK. If there are men who find it difficult to admit this conclusion, it is because we live in an atmosphere

which is saturated with errors. To favor the spread of evil, and for their own security, the enemies of religion constantly represent all repression of impiety and heresy as an outrage against what they falsely call the sacred rights of conscience.

It is nevertheless beyond all doubt that no man can claim for himself the right to do evil. It is certain that man has not and can not have, as some pretend in our day, the natural and inviolable right to think, write and propagate everything that pleases him. Created by God, and depending upon Him in every respect, he has not the right to launch forth outrage and blasphemy against the Author of his existence. Becoming a child of the Church by baptism, he has not the right to rise in revolt against his Mother and to fight her. As a member of society he has not the right to strive to sap the foundations upon which society rests. Endowed with free will, enabling him to do what is good and just meritoriously, he has not the right to abuse it, and so corrupt the morals of his brethren and bring them to ruin. ✓ It is equally undeniable that there are errors which are culpable. ✓ Indeed, there are failings of reason which practically can not be distinguished from moral perversion. Man is obliged above all to adhere to the truth and to preserve his intelligence free from error; this is evident, for in order to will, it is necessary to know, and to will justly, it is necessary to know correctly. If there were no rule for thought, there could not be any rule for action. What would then become of morality and society? A man who tolerates error, knowing it to be error, must be either full of malice or a most despicable character. No mathematician would listen to a false proposition in mathematics, without correcting it; and no good lawyer allows his friends to make a fallacious assumption in a legal matter without telling them of their error. Can we then suppose that a man of integrity, who knows the truth, and knows that he has it from God Himself through the appointed channels of communication, would act as if that truth were no better than fiction? Hence, every Catholic

that is sincere, is intolerant, and if he is not intolerant, he is either a hypocrite, or else he does not really believe what he professes. Among culpable errors, stand foremost the sins of unbelief, heresy and apostasy. In reality, is there any outrage against the honor, the life or the property of a man, a mere creature, which can be compared, as to gravity, with these great crimes, which directly attack the Creator Himself? To refuse obstinately to believe in the revelation of God, sufficiently known as such, is a crime of high treason against the Divinity, for it is to deny and impugn in a manner the veracity of God. Now, at the time and in the countries where the Inquisition existed, it was easy for all to have a complete moral certitude (proportionate, however, to the mental condition and development of each man) concerning the divinity of the Christian religion and the truth of the Catholic Church. It would be well to read Chapter xxxiv, entitled: "Tolerance in Matters of Religion," in the excellent work of Balmes, entitled, "Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe."

III.—WHAT SHOULD BE THOUGHT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INQUISITION IN GENERAL AND OF THE SPANISH INQUISITION IN PARTICULAR.

13. We have just proven that the Inquisition was legitimate in principle; and that in the times and countries, where it was established, there existed the right to punish those found guilty of propagating religious errors. Writers like Llorente, Limbroch, Prescott and others, in picturing the Spanish Inquisition in the blackest colors, as an unanswerable proof of the intolerance and cruelty of the Catholic Church, with whom they completely identify it, take it for granted that all the condemned were innocent, or, at most, misguided persons who suffered martyrdom for their honest

religious convictions. This may be interesting reading in sensational works of fiction, but it is not history. The aim of such writers is to pander to the prejudices and morbid tastes of a certain class of readers who, like the authors of such works, are utterly regardless of honesty and truth. But should we not severely condemn the manner in which this right was exercised? Was there not cruelty in executing the sentences pronounced against the criminals? This is the question now to be examined. We shall solve it by the aid of a few remarks.

14. FIRST REMARK. This question is far from having the same importance as the first. It would be indeed absurd to reproach the Church with the abuses, of which the judges of the Inquisition may have been guilty. As we can reasonably impute to a man only the acts and effects which are the result of his personal activity, in the same way we can reproach a social body only with what is the result of its nature and social action, in other words, of its constitutive principles, of its laws, and of the regular exercise of its authority. Who, indeed, would consider himself justified in holding civil law or military rules responsible for abuses of authority committed by the violation of these laws and rules, which the civil and military authority have enacted, and whose transgression they rightly condemn and punish? Now, the abuses which are brought forward against the Inquisition are far from being the result of the principles of Catholicism; they are, on the contrary, radically opposed to its spirit, and, in fact, they have been severely blamed by the Sovereign Pontiffs every time that they were brought to their notice. As history proves, it must be said to the everlasting credit of the Roman Pontiffs, that they never favored the Spanish Inquisition. Leo X wished to abolish it altogether. Paul III, Pius IV, and Gregory XIII strenuously opposed its introduction into the Kingdom of Naples, and the Duchy of Milan, then subject to the Spanish Crown.

15. From the beginning of the action of the Spanish

Inquisition, Pope Sixtus IV was very ill contented with it, and urged his objections so strongly, that the ambassadors of both courts were ordered to leave their respective stations, and Ferdinand commanded all his subjects to leave Rome. The Pope at last made concessions by the Bull of November 1, 1478. On receiving further accounts of the cruelties done by the Inquisitors of Seville, he retracted the Bull, and ordered that in future the Inquisitors should pass no judgment without the assistance of the Bishops. He further commanded that the Inquisition should not be established in any other province, there being already the ordinary tribunals of the Bishops. When Isabella afterwards desired the withdrawal of the decree, which ordered the Bishops to sit with the Inquisitors, Pope Sixtus IV courteously, but firmly, refused. The next year, in order to temper the severity of the Inquisition, he appointed Manrique, Archbishop of Seville, as Papal Judge of Appeals for all Spain, before whom all who thought themselves unjustly treated by the Inquisitors, could take their cases. He further gave an appeal from the Archbishop to himself. The Holy Father thus quashed many prosecutions and softened the punishments in other cases. He, moreover, required that all those who abjured their heresy should be treated with the utmost leniency; and conjured the King and Queen, "by the bowels of mercy in Jesus Christ," to show more tenderness to their subjects—to those even who had unfortunately fallen into error. But King Ferdinand, and afterwards the Emperor Charles V, replied by endeavoring to stop appeals from being carried to Rome.

Leo X (1519) excommunicated all the officers of the tribunal of Toledo for their excessive severity. He demanded that all false witnesses should be punished according to the rigor of the law, so as to deter others from such a criminal course.

It is well known that writers of a certain school systematically hostile to Rome think to find in the Spanish Inqui-

tion ample justification of their attitude toward the Catholic Church. But there is an answer to this charge, and a very plain one. The Spanish Inquisition was, as we remarked above, a mixed court, viz., a politico—ecclesiastical tribunal; and as it was to take cognizance, among other things, of religious matters, the Spanish Government could not establish it without the intervention of the spiritual authority competent to judge of such topics. But as Dr. Brownson remarks (Vol. XII, page 27), "it was solicited by the Spanish kings, and conceded, though reluctantly, by the Pope, not as a tribunal against peaceable and inoffensive heretics, but, if there be any truth in history, it was established for the purpose of ferreting out and bringing to light persons who were secretly conspiring against royalty, as well as against religion; men plotting in secret to overthrow both Church and State by a violent and bloody revolution; persons whom our own laws would condemn and punish as criminals. That the secular power was guilty in some instances of injustice and cruelty in dealing with the accused, we do not deny; but the Church can not be held responsible for abuses that proceeded from the violation of her injunctions, and against which the Roman Pontiffs loudly protested on many occasions sternly rebuking the Inquisitors for their intemperate zeal. We are far from defending or justifying such abuses, though we firmly believe there has been much falsehood and exaggeration in the case." Abuses occurred only because that tribunal was gradually withdrawn from the authority and influence of the Holy See, and had been turned into a political machine to further political ends. It is a well known fact that the decrees of Rome protesting against excesses, annulling sentences passed in Spain, ordering trials to be transferred to Rome, were often ignored by the royal officials, and papal letters addressed to the Inquisitors were intercepted by Spanish Ministers and never reached their destination. Llorente tries to take the edge off these remonstrances of the Holy See by insinuating that they sprang

from the base motive of cupidity; that the Popes had an eye on the fees they could extort as the price of their absolution. The insinuation is an atrocious calumny, a charge as bold as it is untrue. It is triumphantly refuted by the Protestant historian, Leopold Ranke, who, in his work entitled, "Princes and Peoples" (Vol. I, page 241), distinctly asserts that all profits derived from the confiscations ordered by that tribunal went to the King, and that the proceeds of the collected fines formed a regular revenue of the royal exchequer. Hence the frequent complaints of the Spanish kings that the Pope, by receiving appeals and granting secret absolutions, defrauded the royal treasury of considerable revenues. The Church never received a cent, as it was one of the standing rules that the decisions of the Roman Court should be given gratis in every case.

16. SECOND REMARK. Even if the accusations of wanton cruelty and bloodshed, charged against the Inquisition, were well grounded, this would be no argument against the legitimacy of that tribunal. To prove an abuse of a thing does not prove the necessity of suppressing the lawful use of it; otherwise every human institution or invention would have to be put down, and not even railways, telegraphs and telephones would escape. An institution is deservedly condemned only when the abuses are not accidental, but spring necessarily from its essential character; that is, when the abuse is the effect caused by the institution itself. Apply these considerations to the Roman Inquisition, of which we speak now. The mode of proceeding against accused persons was accurately defined by Bulls of the Popes, and by canon law. No one could even be imprisoned until his guilt had been clearly established before a judicial tribunal. No one could be worried by excessive delays in conducting the trial. There were stringent rules with regard to the character of witnesses, and false testimony was treated with the utmost severity. The judges were ordered never to condemn anyone except on the clearest proofs of guilt, for, as

the Pontiffs said, it is better that crime should go unpunished than that even one innocent man should be punished as guilty. Moreover, it must be noted that confession of guilt would at once have exempted the accused from all punishment, or at least have secured so great a mitigation of its rigor that it ceased to deserve the name. Here Prescott is guilty of downright falsehood when he asserts that penalties were indiscriminately inflicted on all the accused, whether they confessed their guilt or remained obstinate, and that few among those suspected of heresy could escape the fury of that dread tribunal. The charge is too infamous to deserve a refutation. The truth of the matter is that whosoever confessed his guilt and promised to reform was absolved and immediately set free. (See Parson's "Studies in Church History," Vol. II, page 408.) What other tribunal is there, it has been justly asked, where a plea of guilty would be followed by such merciful consequences? We have here a perfect imitation of what actually takes place in the tribunal of penance, where sincere confession of guilt is invariably followed by Sacramental absolution. Behold here how closely the Church, in her legislation, imitates the mercy of her divine Founder! Hence we have reason to conclude that the proceedings of the Inquisition were far more just than those of any judicial court in Europe. ✓

17. THIRD REMARK. It is important to recall the statements of an eminent writer, Abbe De Vayrac, L'Etat present d'Espagne, on the mode of procedure followed by that tribunal:

(1) Its officers were chosen from the most respectable and competent personages of the realm.

(2) All accusations presented to it were to be received with extreme difficulty, and informers were severely punished when judicially convicted of falsehood. According to Simancas, one of the most prominent lawyers of the sixteenth century ("Catholic Institutions Against Heresy,"

1552), no one could be arrested unless accused by three different witnesses, each of whom was to be ready to swear that he was telling the truth, and was not actuated by any malice. If he relapsed but soon repented, he was released. Only on the third conviction the accused was finally consigned to the civil court for judgment.

(3) To the accused was immediately assigned an advocate or counsel to defend them, and if the first hearing showed the innocence of the accused, they were at once set free.

This is a striking contrast to the English code of former days, when no counsel was allowed to the accused, and the charges made against them were not known to them until they came into court to be tried.

But the accused had the right of summoning witnesses in their defense from the remotest regions, even from beyond the sea, and ample time was given to secure their presence.

(4) No sentence of subordinate judges could be executed without the assent of the supreme tribunal, whose duty it was to revise the whole process and either approve or reject the verdict, according to the evidence elicited from its acts.

(5) The interrogatory, or what we might call the cross-examination, always took place before two priests not connected with the Inquisition, whose duty was to prevent all violence and arbitrary proceeding. No one could be even confined to prison unless condemned by a unanimous vote of all the judges. It is true that from the persons accused were concealed the names, both of their accusers and of the witnesses, but this was wisely and prudently done, says the Protestant historian, Ranke, in order to protect them against the hatred and revenge of powerful noblemen and their sympathizers and adherents.

However, this secrecy was common in all the tribunals of those days, and the eminent jurist, Jeremy Bentham, admits that in many cases such secrecy may be absolutely necessary to public security, even in our times. (Vol. II, page 191.)

We must, moreover, remember that the judges appointed to impose corporal penalties for the crime of heresy were civil judges; the office of the ecclesiastical authority being that of establishing the guilt of the accused, a task entirely beyond the competence of the secular rulers. Wherever the tribunal inflicted severe or excessive punishment, death especially, the government was the agent; it is the government, therefore, that must bear the blame, when blame is rightly deserved. Moreover, as we have seen, the State, Christian and Catholic, in lending to the Church the aid of the secular arm, was only fulfilling a duty, that of safe-guarding the sacred rights of conscience and truth, and of protecting from all danger the paramount interests of civil society. (See No. 10.)

Divine authority and Christian tradition amply justify secular princes in aiding the Church with their power. Thus the Jewish people were commanded to try, and, after sentence, to stone any one, whoever he might be, who blasphemed the Lord, or counseled them to apostatize, viz., to depart from the worship of the true God. (See Leviticus, ch. xxiv, v. 14.) St. Augustine (d. A. D. 470) defended, or rather urged the most strenuous measures against the Donatists (furious heretics of the fourth century), in order to repress them. This, he said, is the proper exercise of the power (secular) instituted by God, also for the preservation and defense of the Church. His doctrine on this point is tersely expressed in the following sentence of his ninety-third letter, n. ix: "Serviant reges terrae Christo, etiam leges ferendo pro Christo" (Let Kings serve Christ also by making laws in favor of Christ).

Moreover, clemency, which plays so great a part in the judgments of the Inquisition, was the work of the Church, who did nothing as to the punishments except to suppress or mitigate them, or to recommend the guilty to the indulgence of the judges. (See the "Life of Ximenes," by Hefele, translated from the German by the Rev. Canon Dalton, ch.

16, 17, 18.) Hence the reputation for mercy which the ecclesiastical tribunals of the Inquisition enjoyed. This reputation was so great that the Knights Templars expressly begged to be judged by the tribunals of the Ecclesiastical Inquisition. They knew well, historians said, that if they secured such judges, they could not be condemned to the penalty of death. But Philip the Fair, who had determined upon their destruction, and who understood the inevitable consequence of a recourse to that tribunal, shut himself up with his Council of State and summarily condemned them to death. And in our day, it was at Rome that the Jews received the best treatment; indeed, a proverbial phrase calls the city of the Popes the paradise of the Jews. In Germany, where formerly there were many ecclesiastical sovereignties, there was another proverb, which said: "It is good to live under the Crozier." "Never," says Joseph de Maistre, "under these pacific governments was there a question of persecution or of capital punishment against the spiritual enemies of the reigning power." The action of the Popes in regard to the Inquisition is quite in keeping with the character that has always been noticeable in the occupants of the papal throne. The Popes, as individuals, have had, of course, their personal qualities. Some have been sterner, others milder, in their temperament and in their rule. But the Holy See has all along stood out among the thrones of Christendom conspicuous for its love of mercy and tenderness toward the erring and suffering. In short, whilst we are far from excusing the excesses of this tribunal, we maintain at the same time, that crime was never sanctioned by the Church, that bloodshed and persecution form no part of her creed, and that all abuse of power and the cruelties incidental to it are to be traced to the despotism of the State, and not to the action of the Church. This is the final verdict of all honest and impartial historians of the Spanish Inquisition. (See Baluffi, "Charity of the Church Toward the Jews," ch. xxii.)

18. FOURTH REMARK. It is to give proof of great ignorance of history or of singular hardihood in calumny to represent cruel tortures as the distinctive and exclusive characteristic of the Inquisition. This, however, is what is done every day by anti-religious books, newspapers and reviews.

In reality these tortures were in universal use. They were thought necessary to intimidate the guilty. It would even be an easy task to prove that, taking all in all, the tribunals of the Inquisition proved themselves in general much more equitable and less rigorous towards the accused than any other civil tribunals of those times. Hefele, in the work already cited, where so many interesting facts concerning the Inquisition of Spain are to be found, has been able to give proof of this even as regards that country, the most exposed to blame, and he has been able to do this even while accepting the data of Llorente, the partial and untrustworthy historian of the Inquisition.

19. It is principally upon the testimony of Llorente that the enemies of the Inquisition ground their charges. To be convinced of the little confidence due to the assertions of Llorente, it is enough to know that after writing his work he was careful to destroy the original documents relative to that much maligned institution. By so doing he hoped thereby that it would be impossible to verify his assertions and contradict his statements. A little history concerning this individual will not be out of place, as it throws considerable light on our subject. When, on May 10, 1808, the victorious advance of Napoleon forced Ferdinand VII to abdicate the throne of Spain, Llorente repaired to Bayonne, where he turned traitor to his country by swearing allegiance to the usurper of the Spanish crown, Joseph Bonaparte, who made him Counsellor of State, and who ordered him to write a history of the Spanish Inquisition, with a promise of a liberal compensation for his labor. The venal historian knew full well what kind of a work would suit the palate

of his master, and he wrote accordingly. Both his patron and the hired compiler had a two-fold object in view, viz.: First, to blacken the character of the royal dynasty, and thus inspire into the Spanish people hatred and execration of their legitimate sovereigns. Secondly, to fasten on the Papal Court the responsibility of the excessive rigors of a tribunal that, through State interference, had become more political than ecclesiastical in its procedures. Can we put implicit faith in the statements of such an historian, who wrote with the avowed purpose of maligning that institution, and who, as we noticed above, burned the documents, by which he could have been convicted of falsehood? A degraded priest and a venal historian, a dismissed official of the Inquisition, and writing for the deliberate purpose of painting it in the most odious colors, he is justly liable to suspicion, whenever his assertions cannot be supported by other independent testimony. Let me bring here one instance out of many, that might be adduced, in which Llorente is caught flagrante delicto telling a huge lie. The Inquisition was established in Spain in the year 1481; and this venal writer tells us "that in the very next year the Tribunal of Seville alone burnt not less than 2,000 persons belonging to the dioceses of Seville and Cadiz." This is certainly a frightful statement, if it were only true. But unfortunately for the author's reputation for honesty the figure given is found to be an atrocious exaggeration, implying a barefaced falsehood. In fact, we consulted the original work of the Spanish historian, the Jesuit Father, Mariana, from whom Llorente claims to have borrowed that statement, and found that the total of 2,000 persons is given, not for one year, and one place, but for all parts of Spain, and throughout the whole period of Torquemada's Inquisitorship, a period of fifteen years. Surely a man who could substitute for a yearly average of 133 persons, throughout the whole of Spain, the round sum of 2,000 victims in one city, has forfeited all claims to be considered a trustworthy writer. We should come to the

same conclusion if we were to verify other assertions of his by comparing notes, viz., by consulting the books and documents from which he quotes, but which it was not in his power to destroy. And this shameful historical falsehood is repeated and fully endorsed by the *Encyclopoedia Britannica* (Vol. XIII, page 93, Ninth Edition), though its editors assured their readers and subscribers that it was not to be the organ of any sect or party in science or religion; and that its sworn duty was to give an account of the facts and an impartial summary of results in every department of inquiry and research. This flagrant violation of their fair promises proves once more that they were more easily made than fulfilled. Yet it is mainly Llorente's work which has been the storehouse of weapons in the hands of infidels and Protestants against the tribunal of the Inquisition. Prescott, certainly no friend either to the Inquisition or to the Catholic Church (in his history of Ferdinand and Isabella), bears testimony against Llorente's truthfulness in the following words: "One might reasonably distrust Llorente's tables from the facility with which he receives the most improbable estimates in other matters." Yet, strange to say, Prescott himself frequently bases his unmeasured strictures on the Inquisition on the authority of Llorente, the very witness against whose veracity he was honest enough to testify. So much for his reputation of fairness and consistency! (See Balme's, "European Civilization," note in Appendix, page 457.)

20. If the reader desires to form an idea of what the tribunals were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he should read the learned memoir of M. Pouillet, professor of jurisprudence at the University of Louvain: *Histoire du droit penal dans le duche de Brabant* ("History of Penal Law in the Duchy of Brabant"). We quote these few passages: "In all their procedures there prevailed uncertainty, want of regularity and arbitrary dealings. The accused were deprived of the precious guarantee of publicity as to the

proceedings; the judge could, if he pleased, refuse to the accused the assistance of counsel, and the supposed criminal was not allowed to be present at the deposition of testimony." Concerning the penalties in use, the same writer says: "The general system breathed nothing but intimidation and public vengeance. The penalty of death was often accompanied by revolting cruelties, the judges endeavoring to proportion the torments accompanying the death penalty according to the various degrees of criminality in the offenders. Besides the penalty of death, the law recognized only corporal punishment, often producing irreparable consequences to the victim, always degrading. Nothing was done to reform the criminal and to inspire him with better sentiments before returning him to social life. Imprisonment was only resorted to as a punishment and in cases of minor offenses. It had no place in the penal system properly so-called, and was never ordered, when the judge was about to punish a crime of real gravity."

What has been said of criminal jurisprudence in Brabant applies to the rest of Europe. In those days coiners of false money were burnt alive; those who gave false weights and measures were scourged or were condemned to death; burglars were led to the scaffold; thieves convicted of a relapse were also condemned to death. A monument of the extreme severity of the civil tribunals was the Caroline, the penal code of Charles V, which governed the German Empire until the last century.

Hence Guggenberger wisely remarks ("General History of the Christian Era," Vol. II, page 125): "It is not just to compare the judicial methods of the Inquisition with those of the present day. They must be compared with contemporary proceedings sanctioned by the public laws in vogue at those times. The methods, which we deplore in the Inquisition, were the methods of the age; the redeeming qualities were due to the influence of the legislation of the Church, who greatly mitigated the severity of the civil codes.

Moreover, the punishment by fire was neither introduced by the Church, nor confined to the tribunal of the Inquisition. As historical jurisprudence informs us, it was the penalty inflicted for high treason even on women in England; for poisoning and other crimes in France, and for circulating counterfeit coin in other countries of Europe. But the process of being drawn, hanged, disemboweled and quartered; the boiling to death of prisoners; the revolting torture of the wheel, on which the victim was left to linger with broken bones for hours and days, were certainly far worse than the stake, and we owe such amenities to the mild code of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth." These are the black and bloody stains which a modern English writer would wish to blot out, if he could, from the history of England.

21. FIFTH REMARK. When men reproach the recourse to torture as a special grievance against the Inquisition, they feign to ignore the fact that this means of discovering the truth was in use in all the tribunals of Europe.

But we must here observe that, according to the laws governing the procedure of the Inquisition, the torture could be employed only once in each process, and its use was far milder than in any other civil tribunal.

A curious circumstance concerning this subject is related in the memoir of M. Pouillet. The Councils of Justice of Belgium were consulted by Charles of Lorraine, in 1765 and 1766, as to projects of reform to be introduced into the criminal law, and particularly as to the advisability of the eventual abolition of torture. All the Councils demanded its continuance. A few years afterwards these same Councils were again required to give their opinion as to the employment of torture, for the purpose of eliciting confession from the accused, and all of them repeated their first judgment.

We must also particularly remark that the Inquisition renounced the use of torture long before the other tribunals of Europe. "It is certain," says Llorente himself, "that for a long time the Inquisition no longer had recourse to the torture." Moreover, contrary to the usage of all civil tri-

bunals, the Inquisition did not permit the repeated application of torture during the same trial, and it required that a physician should be present to announce when torture would imperil the life of the patient.

22. SIXTH REMARK. AS to the Spanish Inquisition in particular, we have no reluctance to acknowledge that abuses did exist. How could it be otherwise, when there, as elsewhere, it was men who were the judges? However, it is important to make here a few special observations.

(a) This tribunal was an institution more closely connected with the State than with the Church, and its members acted often not according to the instructions of the Popes, but according to the orders of the King. As to the abuses, which can be rightfully brought against it, the Church was the first to condemn them. The Popes often protested against excessive severity, and they went so far as to grant to all persons condemned by the royal tribunal, the right to appeal to a special ecclesiastical judge. Later, seeing that the royal judges did not respect this right of appeal, the Sovereign Pontiff granted to all the condemned the right to appeal to the Apostolic See. Some Spanish Inquisitors themselves were even excommunicated, in spite of the anger of the Kings.

The Inquisition had not been in operation more than a single year before Pope Sixtus IV (A. D. 1482) entered his most emphatic protest against its cruelty. He wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella that "mercy towards the guilty was more pleasing to God than the severity which they were using." Both he and his immediate successors in the papal throne employed their best efforts to check and remedy the abuses of the royal tribunal, and they insisted that the civil status and the property of every accused person should be restored to him when acquitted, or if condemned, that these should revert to his children and relatives.

In a word, the Church exhausted all the influence it possessed to induce the temporal rulers, the kings and the

judges, to imitate the mildness and moderation, of which she was herself the example. From all this, is it not absurd and unjust to hold the Papacy and the Church responsible for the excesses committed by the Spanish Inquisitors?

That tribunal therefore, when properly understood, instead of being a monument of the religious despotism of the Roman Pontiffs, was, on the contrary, the means of exhibiting to the world the traditional clemency and mercy of the Vicars of Christ. In the face of all these facts, is it not very unjust, says Archbishop Spalding ("Miscellanea," Vol. I, page 232), "to charge the Popes, or the Catholic Church with the abuses of the Inquisition? It is certain that they did everything in their power to restrain the excesses of that tribunal, and if they at times failed, it was the fault of temporal princes, not of the Church. One fact would alone suffice to show how utterly unable the Pope, and even a General Council was to reverse one of its decisions. While the Council of Trent was in session, Bartholomew Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, and Primate of all Spain, was arrested by the Inquisition (1557) at the command of Philip II and kept eight years in prison for having incurred the royal displeasure, and on a charge of heresy. As soon as the distinguished prelate's innocence was known, Paul IV and the Fathers of the Council entered energetic protests against such proceeding, and demanded the liberation of Caranza. But their efforts were unavailing; the Inquisition remained inflexible, and the imprisoned Archbishop was released only after eight years of captivity. If this fact does not prove that the Church had no control over the Spanish Inquisition, and can not, consequently, be held responsible for its abuses, we are at a loss to find better evidences of our contention."

23. (b) It is proved that the cruelties attributed to the Spanish Inquisition have been exaggerated beyond measure, and this with notorious dishonesty and bad faith. Llorente himself, this historian so hostile to the Church, acknowledges that the prisons of the Inquisition were dry and high vaulted

rooms, that they were palaces compared to the other prisons of Europe. No prisoner of the Inquisition, he assures us, was ever loaded with chains or iron collars. On the other hand, Mr. Bourgoing, ambassador to Spain, does not hesitate to say in his *"Tableaux de l'Espagne moderne"* (*"Tableaux of Modern Spain"*): "To render homage to the truth, I must acknowledge that the Inquisition might be cited in our day as a model of equity."

✓ (c) What above all makes the less educated people of our day shudder, is the thought of the autos-da-fe. They are usually represented as frightful scenes; around an immense fire, lit up to destroy a multitude of victims, are represented a fanatical crowd, and especially the implacable judges of the Holy Office, hastening to contemplate with ferocious delight this spectacle worthy of cannibals.

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The truth is that the auto-da-fe, that is to say, the act of faith, consisted, not in burning or putting to death, but in proclaiming the acquittal of the persons recognized as falsely accused and in reconciling repentant criminals to the Church. For this tribunal, like the tribunal of penance, absolved those who repented. After this absolution the auto-da-fe ended, and the ecclesiastical judges retired. Obstinate heretics alone, and those, whose offenses were partly civil, were handed over to the secular arm, to be dealt with according to the gravity of their crime.

✓ 24. (d) It was a question here then of a public profession of faith pronounced by the acquitted prisoner on his being set at liberty. This is the testimony of Llorente, a great enemy, as we have seen, of the Inquisition. That writer speaks of the gross ignorance of some that confounded the auto-da-fe (the act of faith) of the acquitted with the punishment of the convicted. Moreover, we must here remark that heresy was a crime, which came under the jurisdiction of the Inquisitors; but it was not the only crime of which they took cognizance. In Spain they were the guardians not only of Catholic faith, but also of public morals. More

than a dozen other offenses were amenable to that tribunal, such as blasphemy, sacrilege, usury, polygamy, treason, and above all, sorcery and magic. The punishment was administered by the secular judges, not by the Inquisition. Were the punishments severe? It was the laity who apportioned them. The laity, imbued as it was at that time with a genuine Catholic spirit, felt the gravity of an offense against God, and had some care for the honor of God. They did not make light of blasphemy, sacrilege, apostasy, or atheism, as it is done by secular rulers in our day, under the absurd plea of liberty of conscience. They held that an insult to the Supreme Ruler of all nations was an insult to society itself, and they measured the punishment by what they rightly esteemed the gravity of the offense. Hence, as Balmes wisely remarks in his often quoted work (p. 452, n. 26), "the Catholic religion can not be held responsible for any of the excesses of the Spanish tribunals, and when men speak of the Inquisition, they ought not to fix their eyes principally on that of Spain, but on that of Rome acting under the vigilant eye of the Sovereign Pontiffs." In fact, of the Inquisition, as it was in Rome, there are not wanting high authorities to affirm that it has never been known to pronounce a sentence of capital punishment; or, at least, it is unquestionable that such executions were extraordinarily rare. In Spain the Inquisition was severe, because, as we have shown, it was more of a civil and political institution, and because it often acted in opposition to Rome, the part of the world where humanity has suffered the least for the sake of religion.

✓ 25. (e) Often the number of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition is stated as being hundreds of thousands immolated during a short space of time. Now, the figures of Llorente himself give 35,000 as the approximate number of victims for the 331 years during which the Inquisition lasted. And again, in this number are included various categories of malefactors properly so called, who were subject

to this tribunal, for instance smugglers, magicians or sorcerers, perjurers, usurers, seducers, and other criminals guilty of abominable excesses. Hence it clearly results that the number of those who were executed for willful and obstinate adherence to heretical doctrines was comparatively insignificant, as the greatest portion of victims was made up of criminals, who, down to the commencement of the present century, would have been sentenced to death on conviction in any other tribunal of Europe.

26. Moreover, even this number is manifestly exaggerated. Thus, if we believe Llorente, at the auto-da-fe of Toledo, of February 12th, May 1st and December 10th, there were 700, then 900 and 750 accused persons, respectively. The truth is that there was not one single victim; they were simply repenting criminals brought before the tribunal, and none were put to death. Here, when it is a question of comparing the much decried severity of the Spanish Inquisition with the doings of rulers of other countries, we are of opinion that, on this point at least, Protestant objectors would do well to be silent. Certainly it is not wise for them to provoke a comparison which, if impartially examined by the light of reliable historical facts, rather than by that of traditional prejudice, will be found to redound to the credit of the Inquisition, and the disgrace of the secular tribunals of their countries. English Protestants in particular should remember the records concerning the use of the rack; of thrusting needles under the nails; of the Scavenger's Daughter, a hoop or circle of iron, in which a man's whole body was, as it were, folded up, and his hands, feet and head bound fast together; of the Little Ease, a chamber in which a man could neither sit nor stand, nor lie down; and of various other devices of torture, which were used by the Protestant Legislature of England against Catholic Priests. Though it is true that in Protestant countries, such as Germany, Switzerland and England, not to speak of other minor places, there was not and there could not be either the

Spanish or the Roman Catholic Inquisition, yet it is not true that there existed in these regions no Inquisition at all. There were indeed in full blast the Protestant Inquisitions of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, of Luther and Melancthon, Calvin and Zwinglius, purposely organized against unoffending Catholics and directed to rob of their very life all who were courageous enough not to allow themselves to be robbed of their faith. To give some statistics, all taken from Protestant authorities, Holinshed puts down the number of those who were butchered during the reign of the grand royal Inquisitor, Henry VIII, by the hand of the public executioner, at 72,000; and of his worthy daughter, the female Inquisitor, Elizabeth, Cobbett does not hesitate to inform his readers that "this sanguinary queen put to death more persons in one year than the Inquisition did during the whole of its duration, 331 years." It would be easy to prove that brutal violence and wholesale slaughter of innocent Catholics signalized the rise and growth of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland and Southern France, not to speak of Holland, Denmark and Norway, where similar bloody scenes were enacted. Though we have no intention to retaliate, yet in view of the historical documents we may adduce, we feel justified in advising our Protestant brethren that, as our Blessed Lord says in His Gospel, "they should first cast the beam out of their own eye before clamoring about the mote in the eye of their neighbor" (Matth. vii, 5). As the proverb has it, they that live in glass houses should be careful not to throw stones at their neighbor. Then, as we have seen, the intolerance of Protestants has been everywhere much more violent against Catholics, than that of Catholics against heretics. In fact, it was by a most sanguinary persecution that Protestant rulers forcibly snatched the people from their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. And yet it is upon the members of this Church alone that some writers cast the blame of bloody persecution against their fellow men!

*Contradictory to the
statement in the
previous page*

*note the
difference*

27. SEVENTH REMARK. It is right to judge a tree by its fruits, and side by side with the odium cast upon the Inquisition, to learn the happy results which it produced. Now it can not be denied that, to a great extent at least, it is due to the Inquisition that several countries of Europe have preserved the Faith untainted for centuries, and in particular that they have been saved from the pernicious invasion of intolerant and sanguinary Protestantism. Voltaire, that bitter enemy of the Inquisition and of the Catholic Church, was candid enough to write: "During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the time of the Inquisition, the nation of Spain did not witness in her midst the bloody revolutions, the conspiracies against the throne, and the terrible disasters that desolated the other royal houses of Europe. No king was assassinated as in France, and no royal head was felled by the hand of the executioner as in England." The Spanish Inquisition, notwithstanding all its rigors and excesses, which we freely admit, and the cause of which we have already adduced, can say this much in its defense. The Spanish Government saw that all Europe was in flames and all hands reeking with blood, wherever heresy and schism arose and the unity of faith had been lost. The Peasants' War, the Thirty Years' War, the excesses of the Anabaptists' seditions in France; the cruelties that desolated the Netherlands; the wholesale butcheries in England, particularly under Henry VIII and Elizabeth; the high-handed measures, exiles, confiscations and murders with which the Catholic faith was exterminated, root and branch, from the people of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, taught the other European Catholic nations lessons not to be easily forgotten. The Spanish rulers, seeing this, determined to spare Spain these and similar terrors, by preserving, at all costs, the unity of the faith among that intensely Catholic people, and by stamping out and excluding from the realm even the first germ of the Protestant rebellion, which proselytizing zealots were trying to disseminate in the Spanish Peninsula.

The Inquisition was the means devised for the purpose. Spain therefore owes to the Inquisition, notwithstanding its abuses, the preservation of the Catholic faith, the preservation of national and religious unity, and an unbroken internal peace at a time when, in consequence of the Protestant rebellion against the authority of Rome other parts of Europe were bleeding under the curse of civil and religious wars. How can we blame that tribunal for the death and tortures of a few obstinate heretics, when we see that thereby the whole of Spain was saved from interminable civil wars, and all the horrors that characterized the religious fanaticism of the sectarians of Northern Europe?

A brief reference to another kind of Inquisition will not be here out of place. The penal laws against Catholics passed in England and her colonies, in Scotland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Germany, have never been collected yet; but such as have been brought together at times present a revolting picture, the study of which would make certain people blush and change some popular ideas. And yet in these States men were not introducing new religious creeds, assailing existing institutions, or disturbing the public peace. They were inoffending, law abiding citizens, who simply asked to be allowed to retain the faith and practices handed down to them by their forefathers, even from the very introduction of Christianity into their land.

28. "Consider," writes Joseph de Maistre, "the Thirty Years' War, lit up by the inflammatory harangues of Luther; the unheard of atrocities of the Anabaptists and the Peasants, the civil wars of France, England, Flanders, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the massacre of Merindol and the Cevennes; the murder of Mary Stuart, Henry III, Henry IV, Charles I, of the Prince of Orange. A ship could float in the blood which the Reformers caused to be shed. Do not tell us that the Inquisition produced this or that abuse; for this is not the question; what is really important is to know if, during the three last centuries, there has been, because

of the Inquisition, more peace and happiness in Spain than in other countries of Europe."

29. "The Inquisition," as Father Christie wisely remarks, "was the corrective to what we should call Lynch Law. Reflect for a moment what might have resulted from the uncontrollable indignation of the people, Catholic to the backbone, if men were found to blurt out blasphemies against all that such a people held to be holy, and to spread doctrines which would seduce their children, the rising generation, from all that they deemed precious for this life and the next. What could we expect but tumultuary risings; terrible effects of violence and massacres—lynch law with all its horrors? The Tribunal of Faith prevented such consequences. At the outset of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards saw, as it were, the rising smoke, premonitory of a conflagration in Europe. They adopted the Inquisition as the means for preserving religious unity and preventing religious wars. Hence, during the three centuries after the reorganization of the Inquisition, Spain enjoyed more peace and prosperity than any other country in Europe. We have read with horror of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's. What was this massacre? The most satisfactory account would seem to be that without lawful process, under the impulse of popular indignation, lynch law was executed on the assailants of the faith of Frenchmen. The proceeding was unjustifiable, but it took place because France had no Tribunal of Faith. Spain itself, before the Tribunal of Faith was set on its efficient footing by Sixtus the Fourth, had its St. Bartholomew in the massacre of the Jews in 1391, in which five thousand Jews perished. If then the very zeal of a people for that which counts more precious than life itself, is liable to carry the multitude into excesses greatly to be deplored, it is evidently most desirable that a tribunal should exist which should judge cases without prejudice, which should protect the innocent, carry conviction to the mistaken, and punish those only who really deserved punishment."

30. "A reproach has been made against the Inquisition," says Joseph de Maistre, "that it exercised a blighting influence upon the human mind. Now, the brilliant century of Spanish literature was that of Philip II. As history testifies, the golden age of Spain had reached its highest pinnacle of glory at the very epoch of the Inquisition from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Llorente, in the second volume of his work, tells us that not less than 118 learned men were cited before the Inquisition; but he takes good care not to inform the reader that none of them lost even one hair of his head." (See "Civiltà Cattolica," Ser. V, Vol. IX, page 657.) "It is in vain that men will keep repeating that it is putting fetters on genius to forbid it from attacking dogmas, held by the whole nation; error can never be justified simply because of its repetition." "Lettre a un gentilhomme sur l'Inquisition Espagnole" (Letter to a gentleman concerning the Spanish Inquisition).

31. EIGHTH REMARK. Let us make a last remark that will allay the ridiculous terror, which certain men are pleased to excite. If, as we have seen, the Church has an undeniable right to punish heretics; if she did make use of this right when it was proper to do so, she is in nowise obliged to use it always; she must even discontinue to use it, when its exercise would become impossible or hurtful. One thing is the right and quite another thing its exercise. The former rests on justice; the latter depends on prudence, and may vary according to circumstances. And as a matter of fact, the Church has renounced the exercise of this right long ago, so that the Inquisition is now nothing more than an historical remembrance and a bugbear in the service of ignorance, bigotry and impiety. They who pretend to tremble at the recollection of this dread tribunal can now sleep in peace; the Catholic sword is no longer suspended over their heads. Would to heaven that in all countries Catholics were equally secure against the attacks of the secular power usually little given to tolerance. What is then the sum and substance of

*Catholics
and intolerant*

✓ this discussion of the Inquisition? It is briefly this: That as established or recognized by the Church, and in as far as it has been used in strict obedience to her laws and directions, it was an institution holy in its object, just in its measures, and beneficial in its results. That the popular notions, which prevail about it in this country, and among English speaking people in general, are based upon falsehood, nurtured by prejudice, fostered by credulity and perpetuated by the instrument of a hostile, venal press. Catholics do not expect any defense of their position from the pages of secular journals, magazines, reviews or other publications, whose editors and writers, ostensibly at least, have not pledged themselves to the advocacy of any particular creed; but we have a right to see that our Church and her institutions are neither maligned nor misrepresented, for we hold our faith dearer than our lives, and we shall not allow it to be attacked with impunity. The Church is our Mother, and nothing to us is more luminous than the fact of her heavenly origin and divine institution. And as she is to us a Mother, to her we are as sons. Her honor is ours; her dishonor our dishonor. He who ventures to strike at her good name raises up an army against himself. Smite, wound, slander, calumniate, hold us up to ridicule personally, and we can bear it. But touch her not; thrill us not through by casting a scornful eye on her; the arrow is in the string, and the bow is bent, and ten thousand mighty ones of Israel guarding the citadel of faith are at her side ready to defend her with voice and pen and, if need be, even with the sacrifice of their lives. Catholics are justly sensitive to many things regarding their belief; but there is one thing which they feel more acutely than all, the indignities and calumnies heaped upon their Church, to whom they owe, under God, their spiritual life and their happiness, both here and hereafter.

To enable our readers to pursue more at length the study of this question, in which we have been comparatively brief, we here append a list of works that will not fail to sub-

stantiate all our assertions, and prove agreeable to those who are honest enough to act on the principle "audi alteram partem" (hear both sides of the question before you pronounce a definite judgment):

32. (1) "Letters on the Spanish Inquisition," by De Maistre. English translation from the French. Boston, 1850.
- (2) Balmes' "European Civilization" (work referred to above), ch. 24, 25, 26, and note.
- (3) "The Life of Cardinal Ximenes," by the Rev. Dr. Von Hefele. Translated from the German. London, 1860; ch. 17, 18.
- (4) "An Historical Sketch of the Order of St. Dominic," by Lacordaire, O. P., New York, 1869.
- (5) Goschler's "Dictionnaire," Vol. XI, p. 430-443.
- (6) Bergier's "Dictionnaire," Vol. II.
- "Traite de la Vraie Religion," Vol. III, p. 457; Vol. II, pp. 169 and 385.
- (7) "Points of History." Boston; reprinted from the London edition.
- (8) Kenrick's "Primacy of the Apostolic See," p. 424-441.
- (9) "Popular Errors Concerning Politics and Religion," London, 1874, p. 156, by Lord R. Montagu, M. P.
- (10) Broecker, S. J., "The Fact Divine." Portland, Me., 1885; ch. 17.
- (11) Gibbons' "The Faith of Our Fathers," ch. 18.
- (12) Taparelli, S. J., "Saggio Teoretico" (Essay on Natural Right), note xciii. Rome, 1855.
- (13) Abbe de Vayrac, "L'etat present d'Espagne." Amsterdam, 1719.
- (14) Baluffi, "The Charity of the Church." Dublin, 1885; ch. 21.
- (15) "A Vindication of the Catholic Church," by Archbishop Kenrick; p. 243.
- (16) "Summer School Essays," Vol. II; "The Spanish Inquisition," by Rev. J. F. Nugent.

- (17) "Abridged Course of Religious Instruction," by Schouppe, S. J.; p. 69.
- (18) "A Brief for the Spanish Inquisition," by Eliza Atkins Stone.
- (19) "Mooted Questions of History," by Humphrey Desmond; p. 218.
- (20) "Some Lies and Errors of History," by Rev. Reuben Parsons; p. 121.
- (21) "Modern History," by Fredet; note, p. 518.
- (22) "The Tribunal of Faith—The Inquisition," article by Albany Jones Christie, S. J.; Month, Vol. 49, p. 82.
- (23) "Le Menzogne Nella Storia" (Historical Lies).
- (24) "Dictionnaire Apologetique," by J. Jaugey; Vol. I, p. 1525.
- (25) "Brownson's Works," Vols. VI, X, XII and XIII.
- (26) "Catholic Controversy," a reply to Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons," by H. S. D. Ryder, of the Oratory; p. 209.
- (27) "Catholic Dictionary," p. 446-448.
- (28) "Ecclesiastical Dictionary," p. 361-362.
- (29) "Manual of Universal Church History," by Dr. J. Alzog; p. 979-987.
- (30) Devos, "The Three Ages of Progress," pp. 165, 170, 235, 246.
- (31) Guggenberger, S. J., "A General History of the Christian Era, Vol. II, p. 120-126. The reader will find in this work a very able, though condensed, treatment of the whole question.
- (32) Ludwig Pastor, "The History of the Popes," Vol. IV, p. 398-405.
- (33) Cesare Cantu, "Storia Universale" (Universal History), Vol. VII, p. 115-124.
- (34) Rohrbacher, "Universal History of the Catholic Church, Vol II, p. 553-563. Italian edition, 1861.
- (35) Bishop England, Vol. I, pp. 13, 183, 231, 309.

TESTIMONIALS

on the merits of "Christian Apologetics," in two volumes,
from which the preceeding "Essay on the
Inquisition" has been extracted

LETTER OF CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

Rome, January 13, 1904.

REV. JOSEPH C. SASIA, S. J.:

Reverend Father—With pleasure I hastened to place in the venerable hands of the Holy Father the work of Devivier's "Christian Apologetics," edited by your Reverence in the English language. His Holiness received the gift with feelings of deep satisfaction, congratulating you for having dedicated your talent to make better and better known, and to spread more and more the truths and beauties of the Catholic religion.

He expressed the earnest hope that the work you published may produce most abundant fruits, particularly among the people of the American Commonwealth, and thus lead an ever increasing number of souls to the true love and the true faith of Jesus Christ. And with a view that the good wishes of His Holiness may be fully realized, and you may have a pledge of the special benevolence that he cherishes in your regard, he imparts to you his apostolic benediction.

As to myself, whilst thanking your Reverence most cordially for the copy you presented to me, I cheerfully profit by this occasion to declare myself with sentiments of particular esteem,

Yours truly in our Lord,

R. CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL.

The above is a faithful translation of the Italian original submitted to me.

P. W. RIORDAN,
February 8, 1904. Archbishop of San Francisco.

Washington, D. C., August 25, 1903.

REV. J. C. SASIA, S. J.:

Reverend and Dear Father—On my return to Washington, after an absence of some days, I have found your kind letter and the work you have been pleased to send me. Please accept my sincerest thanks for your kindness.

Truly, Reverend Father, you deserve the gratitude of all the Catholics who speak English, for having so well reproduced, augmented and edited in the English language the work entitled "Christian Apologetics," by Rev. W. Devivier, S. J. The extraordinary success which the book has met with in France and everywhere, is a sufficient proof of its merits and usefulness. I hope that it will meet with similar success in America.

Praying God to bestow upon you and upon your labors His choicest blessings, I remain, yours in Christ,

D. FALCONIO, Apostolic Delegate.

St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco, Cal.

It gives me great pleasure to add my name to those of the distinguished Archbishops and Bishops who have given their approval to the work "Christian Apologetics," by Rev. W. Devivier, S. J., which work is now reproduced in our language, edited, augmented and adapted to English readers by the Rev. Joseph C. Sasia, S. J.

I recommend it in a very special manner to the Reverend Clergy, Teachers in our Catholic Institutions, and advanced pupils in our Colleges and Academies. It contains a very able and complete exposition of the doctrines of our religion, and a refutation of the objections which are made to it, especially those urged by the so-called scientists.

I sincerely hope that this valuable work will meet with the encouragement it so richly deserves.

PATRICK W. RIORDAN,

June 4, 1903.

Archbishop of San Francisco.

The undersigned, Superior of the California Mission of the Society of Jesus, in virtue of faculties granted to him by the Very Reverend Louis Martin, General of the same Society, hereby permits the publication of a book entitled, "Christian Apologetics, or A Rational Exposition of the Foundations of Faith," by Rev. W. Devivier, S. J., edited by Rev. Joseph C. Sasia, S. J., the same having been approved by the censors appointed to revise it.

JOHN P. FRIEDEN, S. J.

St. Ignatius College, San Francisco, Cal.,



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